

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4218

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GEORGETOWN 0363

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, GY
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER, FEBRUARY 16

SUMMARY: FONMIN WILLS IS PLEASED WITH MARCH 9 DATE FOR HIS MEETING WNLH THE SECRETARY. DURING CONVERSATION FEBRUARY 16, WILLS FUDGED SOMEWHAT ON BLANKET ASSURANCES HE HAD PREVIOUSLY GIVEN ON INTER-PARTY RELATIONS WITH PUERTO RICAN SOCIALISTS BY SAYING THAT PNC EXECUTIVE HAD NOT YET MET TO CONSIDER THE ISSUE. I CAME BACK HARD ON HIM ON THIS. HE ALSO ENGAGED IN LONG EXPLANATION OF WHY GUYANA MUST SEEK SOLIDARITY WITH OTHER NON-ALIGNED STATES. ESSENCE OF HIS WORDS WAS THAT IF WEAK STATES DID NOT ACT COHESIVELY, THEY WOULD HAVE NO INFLUENCE. THIS, HE INSISTED, DID NOT MEAN GUYANA WAS ANTI-US OR PRO-SOVIET UNION. I INSISTED THAT EXPLANATIONS OF PAST BEHAVIOR OR MOTIVATION WERE NO SUBSTITUTE FOR CONCRETE AND PUBLIC ACTIONS INDICATING THAT GUYANA, ON SOME ISSUES AT LEAST, HAD A COMMON INTEREST WITH THE UNITED STATES. I NOTE THAT WILLS' APPARENT WAVERING ON THE ISSUE OF PNC RELATIONS WITH P.R. SOCIALISTS AGAIN REVEALS HIS DISTRESSING TENDENCY TO CUT CORNERS IN ORDER TO GIVE US ASSURANCES. HOPEFULLY ON THE PUERTO RICO MATTER, HE IS NOT FINDING HIMSELF OVERTURNED BY HIS PARY. WILLS ALSO "CLARIFIED" MANN'S OFFER OF GUYANA AS AN "HONEST BROKER" BETWEEN THE US AND CUBA. END SUMMARY.

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1. FONMIN WILLS CALLED ME TO HIS OFFICE FEB. 16 TO INFORM ME THAT HE WAS PLEASED TO ACCEPT THE APPOINTMENT WITH SECRETARY VANCE ON MARCH 9 AT 4 P.M. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD BE ACCOMPANIED IN WASHINGTON BY RASHLEIGH JACKSON, HIS PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE AT THE UN; RUDY COLLINS, PERMANENT SECRETARY OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS;

AMBASSADOR MANN; AND POSSIBLY LLOYD SEARWAR, MFA MULTI-LATERAL AFFAIRS SPECIALIST. HE PLANS TO ARRIVE IN THE US ABOUT MARCH 5 AND SPEND SEVERAL DAYS IN NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON.

2. WILLS COMMENTS ON A NUMBER OF MATTERS, INCLUDING PUERTO RICO, THE DYNAMICS OF NON-ALIGNED POLITICS, THE NATURE OF GUYANA'S NON-ALIGNMENT, AND GUYANA'S NON-ROLE AS "HONEST BROKER" BETWEEN THE US AND CUBA ARE REPORTED HEREIN. COMMENTS ON THE SOVIET "NAVAL BASE" RUMORS AND INTERNAL POLITICS ARE REPORTED SEPARATELY.

3. WILLS HAD BEFORE HIM A MEMCON FROM AMBASSADOR MANN CONCERNING MANN'S MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY, AND SAID THREE THINGS IN IT WORRIED HIM. ONE WORRY WAS MANN'S CATEGORICAL STATEMENT TO THE SECRETARY THAT THE PEOPLE'S NATIONAL CONGRESS (PNC) WOULD NOT HAVE ANY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PUERTO RICAN SOCIALIST PARTY (PRSP). THAT WAS PREMATURE, WILLS SAID, AS THE PNC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HAD NOT MADE A DECISION ON THE MATTER; THEREFORE MANN SHOULD NOT HAVE MADE SUCH A CATEGORICAL STATEMENT.

4. I EXPRESSED SURPRISE AND DISMAY AND REMINDED WILLS THAT HE ALSO HAD TOLD MCCOY AND ME THE SAME THING. I HAD NOT HEARD ANY CAVEATS SUCH AS HE WAS NOW INTRODUCING. WILLS THEN ADMITTED THAT THE MISTAKE WAS HIS OWN. THE ASSURANCES HE HAD GIVEN US REFLECTED HIS VIEWS AS FOREIGN MINISTER AND ALSO THE VIEWS OF TWO PNC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS, DR. PTOLEMY REID (PNC GENERAL SECRETARY) AND CONFIDENTIAL

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HAMILTON GREEN. WILLS SAID HE WAS QUITE CERTAIN THAT THEIR COLLECTIVE VIEWS WOULD PREVAIL WHEN THE PNC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE DOES MEET TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE. I REMINDED WILLS EMPHATICALLY OF THE NEED TO BE PRECISE ABOUT STATUS OF POSITIONS. I REPEATED THAT ANY PNC RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRSP WOULD CAUSE A SHARP ADVERSE REACTION IN THE US. WILLS REPLIED THAT HE DID NOT THINK WE HAD ANYTHING TO WORRY ABOUT; HE FELT CERTAIN THAT THE PNC WOULD ADOPT THE "RIGHT" POSITION.

5. WILLS THEN SAID MANN HAD REPORTED THAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN HAD COMMENTED THAT THE GUYANESE OUGHT TO SPEAK OUT THEIR TRUE BELIEFS IN INTERNATIONAL FORA RATHER THAN ADOPT POSITIONS, VOTE AND MAKE STATEMENTS TO EXHIBIT SOLIDARITY WITH OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. WILLS ASSERTED THAT SUCH A SUGGESTION IMPLIED A MISUNDERSTANDING OF WHAT IT WAS LIKE TO BE SMALL AND WEAK. IT WAS UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT A COUNTRY LIKE GUYANA TO BE TOTALLY CONSISTENT IN ITS FOREIGN POLICY. THE UNITED STATES WAS POWERFUL ENOUGH TO HAVE COHERENT POLICIES. ITS DOMESTIC INTERESTS AND ITS

DOMINANT BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS SHAPED ITS FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS. ITS POSITION IN INTERNATIONAL FORA REFLECTED THIS REALITY. OTHERS HAD TO RECKON WITH AND COME TO TERMS WITH US POSITIONS IN MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY. WEAK COUNTRIES LIKE GUYANA COULD NOT STAND ALONE. ISOLATED THEY REMAINED WEAK. THEY HAD ALMOST NO LEVERAGE IN BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH LARGER POWERS, PARTICULARLY THE SUPERPOWERS.

6. ACCORDING TO WILLS, THE ONLY PATH TO STRENGTH FOR WEAK COUNTRIES WAS TO GROUP TOGETHER AND DECIDE ON COMMON POLICY OBJECTIVES. THIS WAS FIRST DONE ON A REGIONAL BASIS, THEN IN THE BROADER ENVIRONMENT OF THE ENTIRE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT. THEIR COMBINED WEIGHT THEN WAS APPLIED IN THE UNITED NATIONS VIS-A-VIS THE INDUSTRIALIZED POWERS. HE TICKED OFF ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WHICH HE ALLEGED COULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE WITHOUT "SOLIDARITY" OF DEVELOPING NATIONS. HE ADMITTED THAT COMPROMISES HAD

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TO BE MADE IN EACH COUNTRY'S POLICIES IN ORDER TO ATTAIN COLLECTIVE STRENGTH. GUYANA BELIEVED IN THE EFFICACY OF REGIONAL GROUPINGS AND NON-ALIGNMENT, HE EMPHASIZED, ADDING THAT GUYANA USUALLY SUPPORTS POSITIONS ADOPTED BY THE MAJORITY OF COUNTRIES IN A GIVEN REGION.

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ACTION SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GEORGETOWN 0363

EXDIS

7. WILLS SAID WE SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT GUYANA AND MOST OTHER DEVELOPING NATIONS WERE EX-COLONIAL TERRITORIES WITH

ALL OF THE EMOTIONAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS THAT RESULT FROM BEING IMMATURE AND INSECURE. THEY ARE SEEKING SOLIDARITY TO OBTAIN GLOBAL ECONOMIC BENEFITS, DIGNITY, AND A SENSE OF SECURITY.

8. THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT ENCOMPASSES INDOLOGICAL PLURALISM. IT IS NOT DIRECTED AGAINST ONE OR THE OTHER OF THE GREAT POWERS. HOWEVER, SOME COUNTRIES, SUCH AS CUBA, ARE IN REALITY ALIGNED WITH THE SOVIET UNION. AND THE LATTER HAS WORKED SKILLFULLY TO IDENTIFY ITS INTERESTS WITH THOSE OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

9. IN THE ABSENCE OF A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE POLITICAL FRAMEWORK OR PHILOSOPHY FOR CONDUCTING ITS RELATIONS WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, THE USG'S EFFORTS TO EXERCISE INFLUENCE THROUGH ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS AND PRESSURES WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE LIMITED SUCCESS. POLITICAL LEADERS IN NATIONALISTIC, LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES NEED AN EQUALITARIAN JUSTIFICATION AND FRAMEWORK FOR THEIR POLICIES. THE EFFORTS OF US PHILANTHROPIC FOUNDATIONS ARE NO SUBSTITUTE FOR A COMPREHENSIVE POLITICAL ORIENTATION AND A COHERENT DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY WITH WHICH LESS DEVELOPED NATIONS CAN IDENTIFY. SOCIALISM AND NON-ALIGNMENT CAN BE
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POLITICALLY DEFENDED IN UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. CAPITALISM HAS NOT CREATED AN IMAGE THAT POLITICAL LEADERS CAN DEFEND. BUT, WILLS INSISTED, GUYANA IS "FIERCELY" NON-ALIGNED. IT HAS NO DESIRE TO BE CLOSER TO THE SOVIET UNION THAN IT IS TO THE US.

10. I REPLIED THAT GUYANA SOMETIMES SEEMS TO STAND OUT EVEN AMONG THE NON-ALIGNED IN ITS STRIDENCY. MOREOVER, I SAID, IT APPEARED THAT POSITIONS ADOPTED BY THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES SOMETIMES APPEARED TO WORK COUNTER TO THE INTERESTS OF MEMBER STATES. FOR EXAMPLE, IF THEY CHOOSE TO USE VIS-A-VIS THE US TACTICS OF CONFRONTATION RATHER AN ACCOMMODATION, THEY TEND TO STIFFEN US RESISTANCE. THE RESULT IS NEGATIVE FOR THEM. MOREOVER, ON THE QUESTION OF NON-ALIGNMENT, REGARDLESS OF WHAT GOG OFFICIALS PROFESS AS THEIR INTENT, A NUMBER OF THINGS WOULD LEAD A CAREFUL OBSERVER TO BELIEVE THAT GUYANA WAS BIASED AGAINST THE US AND IN FAVOR OF THE SOVIET UNION. THE CONSTANT REFERENCE IN GUYANA'S PRESS TO "CAPITALIST ENEMIES" WAS AN EXAMPLE. I ALSO CITED OTHER EXAMPLES.

11. WILLS RESPONDED THAT HE COULD GUARANTEE THAT GUYANA WOULD NOT ALLOW ITSELF TO BE USED BY AN OUTSIDE POWER HOSTILE TO THE US. NO STRATEGIC THREAT TO THE US WOULD

COME FROM GUYANA. GUYANA DID NOT ADOPT POSITIONS OR MAKE STATEMENTS FOR SAKE OF OPPOSING THE UNITED STATES. GUYANA IS TRYING TO MODERNIZE AND DEVELOP ITS SOCIETY. IT NEEDS EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE AND WILL ACCEPT IT FROM WHATEVER SOURCE PROVIDED THAT THE DONOR DOES NOT PLACE POLITICAL CONDITIONS ON THE AID.

12. THE THIRD THING IN MANN'S MEMCON THAT BOTHERED WILLS WAS THE FORMAL OFFER OF THE GOG AS A "BROKER" BETWEEN THE US AND CUBA. MANN HAD NOT BEEN INSTRUCTED TO DO THAT. WILLS THEN EXPLAINED THAT HIS SOUNDINGS
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WITH ME WERE CONSIDERED "FEELERS" IN CASE THE US SHOULD WANT GUYANA TO PLAY A ROLE. CASTRO HAD ALSO INDICATED THAT HE HAD OTHER CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION WITH THE US.

13. COMMENT: BEFORE THE CONVERSATION CONCLUDED, I AGAIN EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER APPARENT TRENDS IN GUYANA'S PUBLIC POSTURE AND EMPHASIZED EVEN IF HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES EXPLAIN VERY CLEARLY THE REASONS BEHIND GOG POLICIES AND INSIST THAT THOSE POLICIES ARE NOT CONSCIOUSLY ANTI-AMERICAN, THE REALITY HE MUST UNDERSTAND IS THAT IF THE GOG IS PERCEIVED BY US OFFICIALS AS CONSISTENTLY OPPOSING US INTERESTS, THEY WILL REMAIN UNCONVINCED THAT GUYANA IS A FRIEND. ONE WAY FOR GUYANA TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WOULD BE TO FIND ISSUES ON WHICH IT COULD SUPPORT THE US. ALTERNATIVELY GOG REPRESENTATIVES COULD WORK TO FIND ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN THE EXTREME OR ANTI-US POSITIONS IN THE NAM AND THE UN AND POSITIONS SUPPORTED BY THE US. IN THIS WAY, GUYANA WOULD WORK TO AVOID BITTER CONFRONTATIONS AND WOULD NOT SACRIFICE ITS PRINCIPLES.

14. IN HIS VARIOUS STATEMENTS TO ME AND TO AMBASSADOR MANN, WILLS AGAIN HAS SHOWN HIS TENDENCY TO CREATE A FAVORABLE IMPRESSION BY INITIALLY OMITTING SUCH DETAILS AS THE FACT THAT THE POSITION HE DESCRIBED HAD NOT BEEN APPROVED BY THE PNC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. SIMILARLY, I SUSPECT THAT WILLS HAD INDEED INSTRUCTED AMBASSADOR MANN TO RAISE THE IDEA OF GUYANA BEING A BROKER WITH CUBA BUT THAT THE NEGATIVE SIGNALS HE HAS RECEIVED FROM CASTRO AND FROM ME ON THIS HAVE MADE HIM REALIZE THAT THE IDEA IS A NON-STARTER--BUT, CHARACTERISTICALLY, HE FORGOT TO TELL MANN OF HIS CHANGE OF MIND. IN FUTURE MEETINGS I INTEND TO CONTINUE TO TRY TO MAKE WILLS FOCUS ON THE NECESSITY FOR THE GOG TO PROVIDE CONCRETE EVIDENCE THAT IT DESIRES TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE US, AND THAT, BY THEMSELVES, EXPLANATIONS OF PAST BEHAVIOR WILL NOT SUFFICE. END COMMENT.
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Message Attributes

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TAGS: PFOR, GY, US, (WILLS, FREDERICK R)
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